

English, recognition as a scholar and authority on Renaissance literature, and pre-eminent positions in higher education: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved,

SECTION 1. HONORING NEIL L. RUDESTINE.

The Senate—

(1) expresses deep appreciation to President Neil L. Rudenstine of Harvard University for his contributions to higher education, for the spirit of public service that characterized his decade as Harvard University's President, for his many years of academic leadership at other universities, and for the grace and elegance that he brought to all he has done; and

(2) wishes him well in every future endeavor, anticipating the continuing benefit of his thoughtful expertise to American higher education.

SEC. 2. TRANSMITTAL.

The Secretary of the Senate shall transmit a copy of this resolution to Neil L. Rudenstine.

AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED AND PROPOSED

SA 155. Mr. HARKIN (for himself, Mr. WELLSTONE, and Mr. BIDEN) proposed an amendment to the bill S. 27, to amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to provide bipartisan campaign reform.

SA 156. Mr. FRIST (for himself and Mr. BREAUX) proposed an amendment to the bill S. 27, *supra*.

SA 157. Mr. BINGAMAN proposed an amendment to the bill S. 27, *supra*.

SA 158. Mr. BINGAMAN proposed an amendment to the bill S. 27, *supra*.

SA 159. Mr. NELSON, of Florida proposed an amendment to the bill S. 27, *supra*.

SA 160. Mr. KERRY proposed an amendment to the bill S. 27, *supra*.

SA 161. Mr. LEVIN (for himself, Mr. ENSIGN, Mrs. CLINTON, Mr. DORGAN, Mr. NELSON, of Nebraska, and Mr. REID) proposed an amendment to the bill S. 27, *supra*.

SA 162. Mr. DURBIN (for himself and Mr. COCHRAN) proposed an amendment to the bill S. 27, *supra*.

SA 163. Mr. THOMPSON (for himself, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Ms. COLLINS, Mr. LEAHY, Mr. JEFFORDS, and Mr. DODD) proposed an amendment to the bill S. 27, *supra*.

SA 164. Mr. REED proposed an amendment to the bill S. 27, *supra*.

TEXT OF AMENDMENTS

SA 155. Mr. HARKIN (for himself, Mr. WELLSTONE, and Mr. BIDEN) proposed an amendment to the bill S. 27, to amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to provide bipartisan campaign reform; as follows:

On page 38, after line 3, add the following:

TITLE V—VOLUNTARY SENATE CANDIDATE SPENDING LIMITS AND BENEFITS

SEC. 501. VOLUNTARY SENATE SPENDING LIMITS AND PUBLIC BENEFITS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 is amended by adding at the end the following:

"TITLE V—VOLUNTARY SPENDING LIMITS AND PUBLIC BENEFITS FOR SENATE ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

"SEC. 501. CANDIDATES ELIGIBLE TO RECEIVE BENEFITS.

"(a) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of this title, a candidate is an eligible candidate if the candidate—

"(1) meets the primary and general election filing requirements of subsections (b) and (c); and

"(2) meets the primary and runoff election expenditure limits of subsection (d).

"(b) PRIMARY FILING REQUIREMENTS.—(1) The requirements of this subsection are met if the candidate files with the Secretary of the Senate a declaration as to whether—

"(A) the candidate and the candidate's authorized committees—

"(i) will meet the primary and runoff election expenditure limits of subsection (d); and

"(ii) will only accept contributions for the primary and runoff elections which do not exceed such limits; and

"(B) the candidate and the candidate's authorized committees will meet the general election expenditure limit under section 502(a).

"(2) The declaration under paragraph (1) shall be filed on the date the candidate files as a candidate for the primary election.

"(c) GENERAL ELECTION FILING REQUIREMENT.—(1) The requirements of this subsection are met if the candidate files a certification with the Secretary of the Senate under penalty of perjury that—

"(A) the candidate and the candidate's authorized committees—

"(i) met the primary and runoff election expenditure limits under subsection (d); and

"(ii) did not accept contributions for the primary or runoff election in excess of the primary or runoff expenditure limit under subsection (d), whichever is applicable;

"(B) at least one other candidate has qualified for the same general election ballot under the law of the State involved;

"(C) such candidate and the authorized committees of such candidate—

"(i) except as otherwise provided by this title, will not make expenditures which exceed the general election expenditure limit under section 502(a);

"(ii) will not accept any contributions in violation of section 315;

"(iii) except as otherwise provided by this title, will not accept any contribution for the general election involved to the extent that such contribution would cause the aggregate amount of such contributions to exceed the amount of the general election expenditure limit under section 502(a);

"(iv) will deposit all payments received under this title in an account insured by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation from which funds may be withdrawn by check or similar means of payment to third parties; and

"(v) will furnish campaign records, evidence of contributions, and other appropriate information to the Commission; and

"(D) the candidate intends to make use of the benefits provided under section 503.

"(2) The declaration under paragraph (1) shall be filed not later than 7 days after the earlier of—

"(A) the date the candidate qualifies for the general election ballot under State law; or

"(B) if, under State law, a primary or runoff election to qualify for the general election ballot occurs after September 1, the date the candidate wins the primary or runoff election.

"(d) PRIMARY AND RUNOFF EXPENDITURE LIMITS.—(1) The requirements of this subsection are met if:

"(A) The candidate or the candidate's authorized committees did not make expenditures for the primary election in excess of an amount equal to 67 percent of the general election expenditure limit under section 502(a).

"(B) The candidate and the candidate's authorized committees did not make expenditures for any runoff election in excess of 20 percent of the general election expenditure limit under section 502(a).

"(2)(A) If the contributions received by the candidate or the candidate's authorized com-

mittees for the primary election or runoff election exceed the expenditures for either such election, such excess contributions shall be treated as contributions for the general election and expenditures for the general election may be made from such excess contributions.

"(B) Subparagraph (A) shall not apply to the extent that such treatment of excess contributions—

"(i) would result in the violation of any limitation under section 315; or

"(ii) would cause the aggregate contributions received for the general election to exceed the limits under subsection (c)(1)(C)(iii).

"SEC. 502. LIMITATIONS ON EXPENDITURES.

"(a) GENERAL ELECTION EXPENDITURE LIMIT.—Except as otherwise provided in this title, the aggregate amount of expenditures for a general election by an eligible candidate and the candidate's authorized committees shall not exceed the sum of—

"(1) \$1,000,000; and

"(2) 50 cents multiplied by the voting age population of the candidate's State.

"(b) PAYMENT OF TAXES.—The limitation under subsection (a) shall not apply to any expenditure by the candidate or the candidate's authorized committees for Federal, State, or local taxes on earnings allocable to contributions received by such candidates or committees.

"SEC. 503. BENEFITS ELIGIBLE CANDIDATE ENTITLED TO RECEIVE.

"(a) PAYMENTS.—An eligible candidate shall be entitled to payments from the Senate Election Campaign Fund with respect to an election in an amount equal to 2 times the excess expenditure amount determined under subsection (b) with respect to the election, beginning on the date on which an opponent in the same election as the eligible candidate makes an aggregate amount of expenditures, or accepts an aggregate amount of contributions, in excess of an amount equal to the sum of—

"(1) the excess expenditure amount; and

"(2) \$10,000.

"(b) EXCESS EXPENDITURE AMOUNT.—For purposes of subsection (a), except as provided in section 505(c), the excess expenditure amount determined under this subsection with respect to an election is the greatest aggregate amount of expenditures made (or obligated to be made), or contributions received, by any opponent of the eligible candidate with respect to such election in excess of the primary or runoff expenditure limits under section 501(d) or general election expenditure limit under section 502(a) of the eligible candidate (as applicable).

"(c) WAIVER OF EXPENDITURE AND CONTRIBUTION LIMITS.—An eligible candidate who receives payments under subsection (a) that are allocable to the excess expenditure amounts described in subsection (b) may make expenditures from such payments to defray expenditures for the primary, runoff, or general election without regard to the applicable expenditure limits under section 501(d) or 502(a).

"(d) USE OF PAYMENTS FROM FUND.—Payments received by a candidate under subsection (a) shall be used to defray expenditures incurred with respect to the election for which the amounts were made available. Such payments shall not be used—

"(1) except as provided in paragraph (4), to make any payments, directly or indirectly, to such candidate or to any member of the immediate family of such candidate;

"(2) to make any expenditure other than expenditures to further the applicable election of such candidate;

"(3) to make any expenditures which constitute a violation of any law of the United States or of the State in which the expenditure is made; or